Fortnightly

# VOICE OF PAKISTAN

Toronto, Canada Reg. No.236860 CP

VOL: I | November 15, 1972 | NO.16 | 15 CENTS

# Talks without delay Pakistan's proposal

ISLAMABAD, NOV. 2: THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN HAS SUGGESTED TO THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO RESUME TALKS WITHOUT DELAY OR CONDITIONS IN ORDER TO SETTLE THE OUTSTANDING ISSUE REGARDING THE CONTROL LINE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR.

A spokesman of the Foreign Office said here today the difficulty which had arisen about the line of control was not insurmountable and the Government of Pakistan believed that the problem could be settled on the basis of mutual goodwill and understanding.

He referred to various commentaries on All India Radio and other statements by the spokesman of Indian Government which had tried to pass the blame for the delay on to Pakistan, and maintained that the difficulty had not been caused by Pakistan. Pakistan had raised no issue since Oct. 18. It is India which has refused to sign Map No. 20 which was prepared the same way as other 19 maps.

Tracing the background to the entire negotiations about the delineation of control line, the spokesman said that the actual task was completed on Oct. 18. The task comprised the following steps:

1. Presentation of claims.
2. Joint verification of control line.
3. Joint delineation of the line of control on the ground.
4. Description of the line.
5. Joint delineation of the line of control on the maps.
6. Checking and authentication of the maps by survey officers of both sides.

All that remained to be done, the spokesman said, was for the senior military commanders to sign the agreement and the maps which would have marked the finalisation of the delineation of the line of control.

The spokesman said the problem obstructing finalisation of the agreement on delineation relates to a relatively small area in Jammu and Kashmir. Although the area is small, the problem acquires importance because it was raised after the claim had already been settled and after the task of delineation had been completed.

### Matter of principle

The problem also involves a principle of the Simla Agreement. In Paragraph 4(II) of that agreement, it is provided that in Jammu and Kashmir "the two sides shall respect the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17 without prejudice to the recognised position of either side." This small territory lies in Jammu and Kashmir. It was under Pakistan's control on December 17. There is no dispute over the facts. Nor was there any problem over delineation of the line of control in the area. The line was also jointly delineated. But then the Indian side declined to sign the delineated map.

Another principle agreed at Simla was that the two countries "are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations".

"We are of the view, therefore, that the two countries should resume negotiations without delay or conditions in order to settle this outstanding issue. The Government of Pakistan believes that the problem can be settled on the basis of mutual goodwill and understanding."

## Manekshaw's latest move unacceptable

ISLAMABAD, Nov. 2: Pakistan today told India that New Delhi's latest proposal to finalise the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir [illegible]abad's claim on Takho Chak was not acceptable, it is reliably learnt.

The Chief of Staff, Pakistan Army, Gen. Tikka Khan is understood to have conveyed this in his reply to the communication of Indian Army Chief, Gen. Manekshaw.

It is learnt that Gen. Tikka Khan has suggested to Gen. Manekshaw that senior commanders from both sides meet as soon as possible to finalise the work of the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir, including Takho Chak.

A Foreign Office spokesman said soon after the Simla Agreement, the Indians began insisting that troop withdrawals along the international borders could not take place until the line of control had been delineated. Surprisingly, they have since persisted in this stand, although there is no warrant for it either in the Simla Agreement or in the joint statement issued in New Delhi on August 29 by the representatives of India and Pakistan. In fact, the latter statement clearly laid down that withdrawal of forces to the international border would be completed by September 15 It is a matter of regret that, even one and half months later, the withdrawals have not even commenced.

### No shift in Indian stand

It is unfortunately clear even from the latest message of Gen. Manekshaw that there is no change in the Indian stand on the question of withdrawal of Indian troops from Pakistan territory.

Pakistan's claim in Takho Chak was earlier conceded by the Indian side. The line of control in this area was jointly delineated both on the ground and on the maps which were verified and authenticated by designated officers of the two sides. But the Indian, side suddenly changed its position and took the stand that Takho Chak could not be delineated with the rest of the line of control.

Obviously, Pakistan could not accept this suggestion with the result that the work of delineation has been held up eversince.

## Tufail takes oath as Jama'at chief

Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi, founder of the Jama'at-i-Islami and its first Amir, has wished all success to Mian Tufail Mohammad, the newly-elected Amir, and hoped that he would fully justify the trust reposed in him by the party workers on electing him as their new head.

Speaking at the oath-taking ceremony of Mian Tufail Mohammad at the party's headquarters in Lahore on Thursday, the former Jama'at chief paid glowing tributes to the new leader and said that for the past 28 years, he had worked dedicatedly for the Jama'at and always stood by him through thick and thin.

The Maulana, said the Jama'at was his life's achievement and he would always be ready to help it in any way he was asked.

Mian Tufail Mohammad, the new Amir of the Jama'at resolved that he would shoulder his new responsibility with utmost dedication and work for the glory of the Jama'at and Islam.

He was addressing party workers after taking oath of his new office.

Mian Tufail paid glowing tributes to Maulana Maudoodi and prayed that God grant him long life to enable him to see the system flourish in this country to which he had dedicated his life.

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WHAT HAVE YOU DONE FOR PAKISTAN TODAY????????

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BY "TORONTONIAN"

## A Lesson In Democracy

Results of the recent Canadian federal elections must have brought back nostalgic memories to Pakistanis living in this country. In December 1970 we also went to the polls and the outcome was strikingly similar. Two major parties emerged representing the two so-called ethnic groups, each having complete sway over its respective region and no reciprocal representation.

But there the analogy ends - for the present at least. None of the Canadian leaders have demanded 'maximum autonomy' for their regions; neither have they threatened to 'break the legs' of any elected members if they go to Ottawa to attend the forthcoming session of the parliament. Consequently, no ominous rumblings are being heard from the cantonments. In a land which does not even have the link of a common faith, nobody seems too anxious to promote the idea of two separate nations. Rather, there is intense [illegible] failed to get votes in a particular part of the country. Well... one can go on for ever.

The memories of December 1970 are bitter and painful even to think about, but the lesson of October 1972 should not be lost on us. In the not too distant future, Pakistan i.e. what is left of it, will hopefully go through this exercise in democracy and indications are that the outcome may be similar to the present Canadian scene. If we are going to survive as a free people, let us remember this Canadian lesson in democracy and more important, make sure that our leaders learn it too.

## Canadian Immigration Farce

"Back-door immigration blocked", gleefully screamed the headline in the Toronto Star. On page 18 of the same issue the paper editorially called upon the govt. to bring the Bangla Desh babies here.

And with that the farce finally exploded. The so-called liberal Canadian immigration policy came out in true colors. The ban on visitors to apply for landed immigrant status seems innocent, on the surface at least. But the facts expose the underlying cause. How many Europeans come as visitors? And why should they when the continent is littered with Canadian Immigration Offices. Italy had at least two till 1967 that I know of - in Rome and Milan. And every main square in England displays a big billboard enticing the British to "Come to Canada The Land Of Opportunity". Not to mention the Americans who cross over as if entering their own back yards.

On the other hand, for nearly 700 million people of India, Pakistan & Bangla Desh there is only one office in New Delhi. The whole continent of Africa is covered from Beirut.

One wonders how to blame and condemn Australia, New Zealand and South Africa etc. for their discrimination against colored immigration. At least they have the courage of their convictions.

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# Nation or aggregate of nations?

BY AINULMULK

OUR leaders including those at the helm of affairs are not, with one solitary exception who, however, compensates for the lack of it in all others, noted for flashes of genius. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, however, managed one when he seemed to out the Gordian-knot by declaring that in the matter of extent of Provincial autonomy we should follow India.

That well-tried pattern should provide the way to solve this otherwise simple question made complicated from all kinds of motives in a manner the correctness of which must be self-evident and should silence all clamour for maximum provincial autonomy. Here is a solution in which the other great Khan from the Frontier, as well as all the other admirers of the Indian system should concur, unless they are anxious to expose themselves by wanting to persuade us that we should have nothing to do with a system which has served India so well. It seems to be catching on. *Khan Abdus Samad Khan* Achakzai is the latest welcome convert.

The controversy goes on as to whether our national uplift is best advanced by our forging ourselves into a single undivided nation without any competing nationhood within this nation to divide our allegiance and distract the focus of our attention or by our being crystallised into four or five distinct and therefore often quarrelling nations within a composite nation. The controversy, however, has rarely been carried from this angle. Usually it has been carried from the angle of bare compatibility or otherwise of the Pakistani nationhood with four component nationhoods within it.

In such matters, as in all matters, it is necessary to fix the objectives first in order to be able to proceed correctly. Should we be a well-knit nation of a united people capable of taking care of ourselves and ensuring our progress and prosperity or should our four provinces be crystallised into four nations conscious and jealous of their separate nationhoods, each with a necessarily different outlook on and approach to national and international affairs just pooling their resources for conducting foreign affairs, on which the four may have different policies, and ensuring our defence, on which there is bound to be difference on the very first question of defence against whom.

## NATIONAL SALVATION

We have lost grievously, ignominiously. But if the soul is not lost all is not lost, and much can be redeemed. Unfortunately we seem to have been for sometime now and to continue to be in dire peril of loosing our national soul too judging from the harmony with which powerful foreign enemeis and in a different way equally powerful enemies or foolish misguided friends at home have been directing their activities to annihilate or confuse the national soul. The method used is compounded of manufacturing evidence and misinterpreting facts remote as well as recent in an attempt to prove that no such thing as a Pakistani national soul has ever existed. Aided by the contagion of wishful thinking abroad masquarading as belief the manufactured evidence is finding credence with the result that we are making rapid strides on the road, made metalled and carpetted for us, leading to a firm pursuation that here is a freak body politic inhabited by four discordant souls. Beverely Nichols had said of the Hindu *Press in British India* that it had carried the art of lying to perfection. There is, as he said, the lie direct and the lie indirect, the lie of commission and the lie of omission, the lie of supposition and the lie of suggestion. And, Sir Syed Raza Ali speaking at the Muslim League Session of 1938 had said that the Congress leadership had learnt the art of politics and propaganda from the British, the masters in the craft, so well that it was often difficult to say which of them was the master and which the disciple. Between them the Indians and their old masters, as also their new masters, the Russians, and their fellow travellers at home have been giving an imposing display of all the above kinds of lies calculated to persuade us that the whole idea of a Pakistani nation is a mere figment of imagination and that the creation of Pakistan and the whole concept of the Muslim nation of the sub-continent was a gigantic hoax perpetrated by an ultra clever Bombay lawyer for personal glorification. Curiously enough, while once the Muslim nation was supposed to be non-existent on the basis that there was only one nation inhabiting the whole sub-continent, now the Pakistani nation is proclaimed from housetops to have no reality on the supposition of there being actually four or five nations inhabiting Pakistan. Figment of imagination indeed! How many nations are there in the world today in whose creation and continuance imagination and imaginativeness has not played a part, often the principal part. When did India became one nation? Was it one nation that inhabited the Moghul Empire from Trans-Oxiana to Deccam? Was it one nation that inhabited British India when it stretched from River Sutlej to Cape Camorin with other nations inhabiting the rest of the sub-continent, to become finally one nation by the accident of Sikh defeat? Whoever talked of an Indian Nation before the Congress invented and gave currency to this term in order to prepare the ground for its own Hindu leadership being accepted as the sole spokesman for the sub-continent. If this Indian nation is not a mere creation of the British Tommies does it not owe its whole existence to the imagination and imaginativeness of the Hindu leadership?

Not even that in the case of the U.S.S.R. where imagination buttressed by ideology would still have failed to give a sense of belonging to a common nation to the various peoples as diverse as the Turkoman, the Armenian. the Russian and the Ukranian, to name *only a few, if the guns and* bombs were not there to inculcate a proper sense of common nationality in the conquered peoples.

Then there is the matronly Great Britain so profuse with her encouraging approvals and frowning disapprovals, usually interested, sometimes purely whimsical. How is the quality of being able to unite into a United Kingdom so peculiarly Anglo-Saxon that it is appropriate for the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Wales and for the northern part of Ireland (the land stolen from the Irish) in spite of the background of a thousand years of sanguinary warfare and mutual hatred and not for four such contiguous regions as Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province who have a long history of common citizenship or co-operative association. Mr. Heath's lamentations that if he did not stick to Northern Ireland then Scotland and Wales would not stick to England for long would show there is nothing Anglo-Sexon about it. How funny that there should be the dominating Punjabees and the poor exploited Pathan Highlanders and Sindhi lowlanders in Great Britain too. But everyone knows that England, Scotland and Wales will stick to remain a Britain that somehow manages to maintain the pretence of being great. So will the Dravidian South, the Aryan North and the Mongoloid Himalaya and Eastern India continue as the Indian union. Why then should not the Sindhis, Baluchees, Pathans, Panjabees and Kashmiris who are a far more homogenous people and compact region cherish and nourish their common Pakistani nationhood.

## SINISTER DESIGNS

The British and those who take their cue from them, half the mankind, find it so natural and in accord with the force and direction of history for the three British nations or for the Hindus and even non-Hindus so widely divergent racially and linguistically to unite into a common nation. Yet they insist on the Balkanisation of such a homogenous and compact people as the Muslims of the North West who have nearly a thousand years of common history. Should it not be evident even to the purblind that they have a sinister design in preventing the emergence of a single homogenous Muslim nation in this historic heartland of the Muslims of the subcontinent situated between Hindu India, Mongol China, imperial Russia, Muslim Middle East and the Indian Ocean. Does it not automatically follow, and is it not otherwise also clear, that their object in keeping us disunited is to prepare us for absorption into the Russian and Indian orbits? If, God forbid, the Indo-Russian combine does manage to create Sind Desh and Pakhtoonistan, the Sindhis will have not only the Indian Sindhis flooding Sind Desh as Indian Bengalee Hindus have flooded Bangladesh but will also have their Gujerati and Marwari neighbours swarming in to develop this sparsely populated ill-irrigated land to form a bridge between India and the Arab Iranian Asia for aggrandisement westwards; and the Pathan and the Baluch whose lands instead of being the mere peripheral lands that they were to the British will be for the Russians the vital and only areas of access to the coveted Indian Ocean and the lands it washes will know master far more powerful than any they have ever known. In the process poor Afghanistan will also be more thoroughly integrated into the Russian system. And so another huge chunk of Muslim heartland about the size of Iran will have passed into the slave empires of Russia and India. Then with the consolidation of the Russian foothold in Iraq both Iran and Turkey will find themselves in a nut cracker.

## NO CITY STATES

The purblindness of those provincial leaders who think they can have neat little independent states like Nepal and Bhutan, modern versions of the city states of ancient Greece, is really amazing. After two centuries of a world order in which even good second class state, like The Ottoman Empire, Iran, present Turkey and Pakistan have been constantly shrinking and sometimes disappearing to make room for expanding first class states and under constant menace any talk of sovereign independence for small states like Pakhtunistan, Sind or Baluchistan lying athwart the essential highway of super and near super powers is such unbelievable madness that it can well be believed to be a case of calculated sell-out.

**THE raison d'etre for the existence of Pakistan should never be lost sight of if we are to understand ourselves in the all important contexts of history and geography, i.e., of what has shaped us and how we are situated in relation to world forces.**

Patently and undisputedly Islam and Hinduism are poles apart in the all important matters of fundamental beliefs and of attitude towards fellow human beings. One commenced with a destruction of all the gods in the Kaaba, the other elevated to the highest pedestal all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, particularly the gods of destruction and intolerance; one believed in equality and fraternity, the other in permanent relegation of all except a chosen few to varying grades of degradation down to being absolutely untouchable. They

Continued on page 4.

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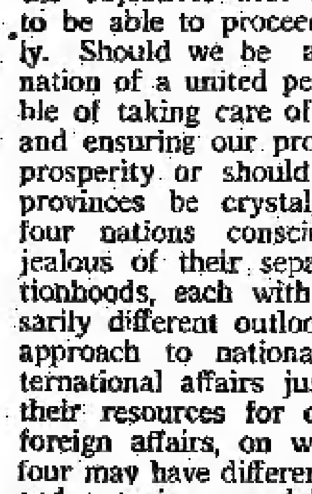

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# ✪NEWS ✪NEWS ✪NEWS ✪NEWS✪

## Governors endorse constitutional accord

RAWALPINDI, Oct. 28: The Governors' conference held here today recorded its satisfaction at the unanimously reached all-party agreement of October 20 which has laid the foundation and settled the principles for an enduring resolution of the constitutional impasse which had thwarted the national democratic process for the last 25 years.

A joint statement issued at the conclusion of the conference said:

The agreement symbolises the triumph of the people's will and aspirations by ushering in a momentous and durable era of national consolidation, stability, peace and security. It guarantees a positive and constructive response and understanding of the ideological, spiritual and socio-economic unity and future needs of the nation.

The accord is a mandate of political security and stability and so denies to external forces and interests the temptation to interfere in our affairs. This makes us stronger than before.

The historic significance of the accord lies in the transcendance of national interests over party considerations and is an expression of unparalleled patriotism of national leadership and its commitment to the supreme interests and welfare of the people, the nation and the State.

### Gratitude

The conference acknowledges with gratitude the indefatigable efforts of President Bhutto in promoting the spirit of national purpose and understanding, being himself the principal architect of this historic agreement.

National leadership having now forged a unanimous agreement on principles, the conference justifiably expects the people of Pakistan—its workers, peasants, students and public servants to close their ranks and rise to meet the enormous challenge of national reconstruction. The hour has come for the people to make their supreme contribution to the new order.

In a world troubled by international intrigue, power politics, global rivalries and ideological strife, the constitutional accord brings a refreshing breath of peace, hope and promise to our country. We can now look forward to an era of national harmony.

Having been freed from the threat and danger of political instability by this framework of fundamentals, we are now able to proceed with the herculean task of building a new and strong, progressive and prosperous Pakistan with rededicated faith in our future. We shall together work for the greater glory of Pakistan and secure a place in history which is ours by right.

## Time to exert in economic, political fields

LYALLPUR, Oct. 26: President Bhutto told a large cheering crowd, which had come to the Lyallpur railway station to welcome him, that now that Pakistan had solved the constitutional tangle the time had come for the Government to exert itself in the economic political and social fields.

## Private sector assures Bhutto of co-operation

KARACHI, Oct. 28: The President of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Kasam Usman Kandawalla, today assured President Bhutto that the business community would co-operate with the Government fully and accept the new challenges to achieve the targets set for it.

## E. Wing integral part of Pakistan

Mian Tufail Mohammad, Acting chief of the Jama'at-i-Islami, said in Lahore on Saturday that East Pakistan was an integral part of Pakistan and sooner or later it would rejoin us.

Speaking at an Iftar party held by the Shad Bagh Jama'at-i-Islami, he took strong exception to the observations made by the President at Lyallpur regarding the recognition of Bangladesh. He said Bangladesh was an "illegitimate child" and it could not be awarded legitimacy. Bangladesh had been created by "criminals" with the collaboration of India.

He maintained that East Pakistan was a part of Pakistan and the "Muslim Bengal" could never be as a substitute for it.

Mian Tufail Mohammad warned that if Bangladesh was recognised, it would open a floodgate for intrigues to undo what remained of Pakistan.

## Economic recovery despite hurdles

—MUBASHIR

Dr. Mubashir Hasan, Central Minister for Finance, on Thursday, lashed out at different sections of society—big business, labour, bureaucracy and intellectuals for not co-operating with the Government in bringing about socialism in the country.

## Bangladesh elections to be held March 7

DACCA — Bangladesh Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman announced that general elections will be held March 7 under the country's new constitution passed on Saturday. The date marks the second anniversary of the date when he launched his non-co-operation movement which led to the Indo-Pakistani war and eventually to the creation of Bangladesh.

## No immediate summit, says Indira

NEW DELHI, Oct. 26: Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India today ruled out the possibility of an immediate summit meeting between herself and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

"Let the process of delineation of the line of control in Kashmir and withdrawal of forces (from ground occupied across international frontiers during the December war) be over," she told a Press conference in the north-east Indian hill station of Darjeeling.

Mrs. Gandhi avoided replying to a question whether China was influencing Pakistan, but said: "It is obvious from Press reports that Pakistan is not very enthusiastic about the implementation of the Simla Agreement."

On China, she said the present state of relations between India and China could not continue for ever and it had to end.

## Indira welcomes Bhutto's statement

DARJEELING, Oct. 26: Mrs. Indira Gandhi today welcomed the statement of President Bhutto that Pakistan and India had no other choice but to live as good neighbours.

While addressing a Press conference here, Mrs. Gandhi said that India favoured the move to establish better relations with its neighbouring countries.

The Indian Prime Minister warned the people against the "hidden hand" that was creating confusion and disunity in their ranks by involving them in such issues as "language."

Mrs. Gandhi said that some of the foreign powers were not happy with the Indian foreign policy and they were, therefore, abetting the disruptionists through underhand means.

CONTROL LINE

## India reopened issue at last moment

RAWALPINDI, Oct. 28: A spokesman of the Defence Ministry said here today that the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir has been completed and the line had been drawn on the maps by both sides.

He was commenting on a New Delhi news report on the message sent by the Indian Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Manekshaw, to the Pakistan Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Tikka Khan, regarding the delineation of line of control.

The spokesman said the maps had already been initialled by the official surveyors of both countries. However, at the last minute, the Indian side reopened the question of the delineation of line of control in a certain area which had already been settled and delineated on the maps. As a divergence of opinion developed between the two sides, the maps could not be signed, he added.

The spokesman further said that Pakistan had offered to hold a meeting of senior military commanders to discuss ways and means of resolving these differences.

This was in consonance with the spirit of Simla Agreement and the expressed desire of the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India to resolve problems by mutual discussions.

It is hoped, he said, that the senior military commanders would meet in the near future and finally settle the dispute and sign the map.

## Wheel of industry starts moving

KARACHI, Nov. 2: The wheel of industry finally started moving in Landhi today with resumption of work in most of the factories for the first time since the present crisis began 16 days ago.

With elaborate security measures taken by the authorities including stationing of troops and militia at various points and regular patrolling of police in the area, the situation is fast returning to complete normalcy. There were no incidents today although pressurising of workers returning to duty was still continuing in some labour colonies doting the Landhi mill area.

Similarly complete normalcy prevailed today in other industrial areas of SITE and Korangi. The factories were running there more or less to full capacity, according to official sources.

### Pakistan quits SEATO

RAWALPINDI — Pakistan quit the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization yesterday, leaving Thailand and the Philippines the only members of the alliance put together in 1954 by John Foster Dulles as a barrier to Chinese expansion. A Government announcement said the withdrawal fulfilled an election pledge by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

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## NATION OR AGGREGATE OF NATIONS

Continued from page 2.

are different in most of the essential as well as non-essential aspects of the life. The unchangeability of this attitude of the Hindus towards other people is amply demonstrated by the fact of the Hindus have developed the cult and outlook of hating the Muslims and all that they stand for.

It is this that gives its justification to the creation and existence of Pakistan. On the one hand it was a realisation of the fact that the future belonged only to great nations. The Quaid-i-Azam had the same prescience. This also made him accept the Cabinet Mission Plan which reconciled the unity of India with effective Muslim participation in its affairs.

On the other hand it was a grand gesture to the Hindus to meet the Muslims half way. Deep down inside him the old vision of a great India built jointly by the Hindus and the Muslims reappeared. The Hindus, however, had other objectives, fixed half a century earlier and consistently pursued. It was the diabolical scheme of the Hindus, openly proclaimed by their least anti-Muslim leader, Mr. Nehru, of doing as they pleased with their majority in the Constituent Assembly and Parliament. That finally compelled the Quaid-i-Azam not to trust the Hindus any longer and to ensure sovereign independence for the Muslims.

It is not often realised that when at last the Hindus agreed to partition it was not with reluctance but with alacrity. They saw in it the only means of having the kind of strong all powerful Central Government that was able to reincorporate Pakistan or to reduce it to vassalage. Here is a double lesson for us; to guard against this design of theirs which has been put in practice with such success so far; and to have a strong Central Government ourselves to forge us into a united nation that is even more well-knit than the Indian because it is more compact racially, religiously and geographically.

### ONLY ALTERNATIVE

We have a last chance to realise that the only alternative to independence is a certain decline to the position to which the Indian Muslims and Kashmiris have been reduced and to which Bangladeshis are being progressively reduced. These being the alternatives we have not only to exist as a united independent nation but by wise political and social economy have to make up the gap and stand erect as a near first class power. All talk of maximum autonomy (which is really probation for secession) and of any nationality other than the Pakistani must be given up as poison sugarcoated for us by designing powers and persons posing as our leaders.

Those who do not realise the simple fact that one cannot belong to two nations at the same time, are nincompoops. These who honestly talk of a confederation or a loose federation of the so-called four nationalities should try to understand the fact that the sum total of any such scheme may result in something that may fitly be called the Pakistani aggregate of nations, but can never produce a Pakistani nation.

So if there is going to be a Pakistani nation it has to comprise of all the people inhabiting Pakistan without regard to ethnic or linguistic differences. It cannot be comprised of four nationalities. Once the primacy of the resulting nation is recognised even a unitary government is found appropriate and even necessary as in the U.K. or India. Certainly there is no room to question that the federal set up is the maximum degree of that the Pakistani Communists emulated the Hindu and Russian Communists in the latter's attachment to national interests and even to religious prejudices.

Another confusion is sought to be imported into this question is the plea that with the secession of East Pakistan the two nation theory and therefore the basis of a Pakistani nation has been falsified. Now, firstly long before the two nation theory was propounded the idea of a single Muslim State for the entire North West was considered so natural and desirable that it was proclaimed, fittingly by Allama Iqbal, to be final destiny of the Muslims of the North West. It was also conceded to me eminently feasably by persons as eminent as Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Ambeadker. Secondly, however numerous the Bengali Muslims may be and however sacred their right of self-determination may be, they can only determine for themselves and not for us: and certainly the Bengali Hindus cannot determine for us. Even if the Bengali Muslims really got less than their due and therefore were justified in making common cause with the Bengali Hindus, how does it follow that the nation from which they have opted out ceased thereby to exist. East Pakistan's separation may even be justified by the inexorable facts of geography. It is still a Muslim State insisting on existing separately from the fellow Bengalese. Even if it decided to rejoin India or forged a yet greater identity of culture and outlook with the Bengali Hindus that would be wholly irrelevant to the question of the Muslims of the North West constituting one nation. Even recognition of Bangladesh would not affect the basis and rationale of Pakistan as the purists among us would have us believe.

Nor need we think that all is lost with the loss of East Pakistan. *If Japan and West Germany* are too lofty examples to follow there is that of our cousins the Turks Turkey is even more in Russian path than Pakistan. Half the world had effectively destroyed it. Yet in their own homelands the Turks stand erect and square better than they did six centuries ago. United we can achieve a similar position. Of course we will require friends among the great. Here the international set up seems to be developing favourably. Evidently under American promptings Japan is moving closer to China. Russia seems to be enlisting Iran's good offices in resolving the impasse in this sub-continent.

We will all be lost, each one of the four provinces, if we do not close our ranks even now.

THE PAKISTAN TIMES

## AN AGREEMENT

By Z. A. Suleri

Agreements are so rare in our national life that even the faintest sound of them is pleasant to the ear. This is, however, a fundamental agreement. Constitution-making has become both our hobby-horse and our bug-bear. The lack of a constitution reflected the state of disarray in the nation. It marked the progressive erosion of the concept of Muslim nationhood which created the country. The abrogation of the 1956 Constitution was an enormity because it was the only compact into which the East and the West had freely entered. It amounted to the vivisection of the body-politic. Never did the twain meet again in a harmonious consensus. The problem had two aspects. One, the provinces did not agree either to a pattern of mutual relationship or to their equation with the Centre. Two, the logic of a federal parliamentary system, which was the essence of unity in Pakistan, was not followed. The motive of the democratic movement which overthrew Ayub was precisely to establish that system. But alas, the objective proved illusory. Yahya's elections resulted in the division of the country. And the last ten months saw the development of those very conditions which preceded the secession of East Pakistan. The falsehood of nationalities was brought into stark confrontation with the truth of Muslim nationhood. The rot could have been stopped much earlier *if wiser counsels had prevailed.* But an agreement of any sort is never to be pooh-poohed. It is better to be late than never. Actually the President has stooped to conquer. Strictly he was under no obligation to consult with the Opposition. The PPP was strong enough to push through any plan of constitution. But he has thus achieved more than a partisan victory —it is national solidarity.

Now to the agreement. The relationship between the Centre and the provinces has been suitably handled. While special concessions have been made in certain respects to the Frontier and Baluchistan, the federal and concurrent lists on the whole provide for a viable Pakistan. The most remarkable feature is the embodiment of the Pakistan ideology. It secures the integrity of our nationhood. It does the PPP great credit and dispels doubts about its creed. But there are also objectionable points. It has been widely noted that Bangla Desh is implicitly recognised by the ommission of any provision to accomodate East Pakistan, whenever it is freed. A two thirds majority for a no-confidence motion militates against the spirit of democracy which, shorn of verbiage, means majority rule. I have argued enough against the recognition of Bangla Desh and here I shall confine myself to the second point. The plea of course is the cause of stability. That plea is not entirely groundless. Everything should be done to produce a stable government. But the cause is well-served by the Political Parties Act. It prevents crossing of the floor. In fact it has maintained the PPP strength. Khan Wali Khan's demand to do away with it was made with a view to exposing the weaknesses of the ruling party. It has however a lacuna. A member may not leave his party but yet he may disobey its whip.

That lacuna could be removed by making it obligatory for such a dissenter to resign his seat which he won on the party ticket. Mr. Kasuri could not otherwise be a member of the National Assembly in his wildest dreams. Coupled with the desirable condition of naming the prospective candidate for *Prime* Ministership by the movers of the no-confidence resolution, the amended Parties Act should be a sufficient deterrent.

We must also remember that the inviability of the parliamentary ministries started only during the tenure of Iskander Mirza. Otherwise the Muslim League ruled from 1947 to 1954 at a stretch. In 1955 the League-KSP coalition produced the 1956 Constitution. Iskander Mirza was able to interfere with the Parliamentary Parties through the instrumentality of a King's Party, the Republicans, which configured after the Muslim League split. That party was in his pocket and no ministry could be formed without it. He attached it to and detached it from its partners in the coalitions whenever it suited his book. He was systematically paving the way for the collapse of the Constitution in order to establish dictatorship. But for his manoeuvres and intrigues, the system had every chance of working well. But such a possibility is not present now. The President has been made entirely dependent on the Prime Minister. He is no longer capable of any mischief. There is therefore no need for such a stringent condition for a no-confidence motion. In the light of the PPP's commanding position in the National Assembly, its value is in any case academic. Now that we are setting upon the right road of a federal parliamentary system, let us wholeheartedly stick to its genuine characteristics.

Daily Nawa-i-Waqt,
Lahore-Rawalpindi
Thursday 26th October, 1972.

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### TROUBLE FOR MUJIB

DACCA, NOV.13: Mr.Abdul Rab,student leader and a former guerilla commander and Major Jalil,another Mukti Bahini commander have levelled very grave charges against Sh.Mujib and his Awami League junta.

Speaking in the Dacca Press Club for the newly-formed National Socialist Party,they charged Sh.Mujib and his colleagues of perpetuating the civil war too soon - when the people were not yet prepared and of "pushing them into the tiger's mouth" i.e. the Pak Army.

They also charged the Awami League regime of high-handedness,nepotism and corruption at the highest levels of government. (Voice of America).

### CIA accused

NEW DELHI Nov.13 – Marxist members of Parliament charged yesterday that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for mailing scores of letter bombs from India to Jews in other countries.

They said the CIA link made sense as an American "attempt to discredit India." Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other members of the ruling Congress Party have accused the CIA in recent months of stepping up its activity in India.

However, other legislators told Communications Minister H. N. Bahuguna they thought the bombs were the work of Palestinian territorists.

### MALIK ON TRIAL IN DACCA:

DACCA Nov.13 — Abdul Mutaleb Malik, the last governor of former East Pakistan, went on trial yesterday on charges of collaborating with the Pakistani occupation forces and waging war against Bangladesh.

Malik, 70, who resigned the governorship two days before the surrender of the Pakistani army last December, pleaded not guilty to the charges, which carry the death penalty or life imprisonment.

The hearing before a special tribunal was adjourned until tomorrow after Malik announced that the International Human Rights Society was sending Sir Dingle Foot, a former British solicitor-general, to defend him.

# National Corp. to boost industrial output

NOVEMBER 2: The Government has now approved a series of new measures including the establishment of a national industrial financial corporation to ensure full utilisation of the installed industrial capacity and accelerate fresh investments both in public and private sectors.

# B.D. people can be won over by love

LYALLPUR, OCT. 26: PRESIDENT ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO HINTED HERE TODAY AT THE RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH BY PAKISTAN BY SAYING THAT LOVE AND BROTHERLY FEELINGS ALONE WOULD MAKE THE PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH REALISE THEIR MISTAKE.

"Pakistan should be such a model of achievements that the people of Bangladesh and Kashmir start marvelling at it and make their bid to rejoin it" the President remarked while addressing an "Iftar' party given in his honour by the local PPP workers.

If the people had not lost their love for their brethren in Muslim Bengal, he added, they should not act in such a manner that any recrimination between the two should continue.

Recounting advantages of recognition the President said it would be beneficial to Pakistan in more than one way and would open up the channels of communication in many fields. It would pave the way for the re-unification of the two parts of the country.

Mr. Bhutto said that a final decision in this respect would be taken by the Government after he had toured the country soon after Ramazan. He would explain the position to the people and try to persuade them since they were the final arbiters in the matter.

He added: "The creation of Bangladesh was not the result of Indian invasion alone; it was also due to the fact that the people of that region cherished it and started an armed struggle for it."

The President said if we wished to have friendship with the people of that region and did not wish to pursue the policy of confrontation for ever, we have to take into account their aspirations.

Obviously referring to the Opposition campaign on the issue, who cited the example of Israel and the U.S. which had not recognised China, the President said: "Ours is a different case. Pakistan bears no enmity with the people of Muslim Bengal and wishes to befriend them. In the example cited by the Opposition those countries wish to pursue a policy of confrontation. The recognition of Bangladesh will enable the people of one region to meet those in the other and remove the misunderstandings between them."

Further, Mr. Bhutto said, Pakistan had to exert all its energies on the reconstruction of the country according to the ideology on the basis of which it was created, rather than remain involved in squabbles which could demolish that ideology.

Explaining merits and demerits of the whole issue of Bangladesh recognition, the President said Pakistan would gain nothing by refusing to accept the reality. "If the people of East Pakistan had not wanted separation, India could never have dared to launch aggression against Pakistan," he said. "Mukti Bahini and other forces fought against the Pakistan Army in whose support India also came, which in normal circumstances could not do so."

President Bhutto said he would not go into the logic of this issue at present, but he was certain that when the people understood the truth they would realise that ultimately recognition of Bangladesh was in their interest. He said he was not saying this out of political expediency, but as a matter of fact. It was his belief and faith that when the people came to know of real implications of the situation, they would accept what was right.

"I cannot understand the stand of those on the matter who only two months back pleaded for recognition of Bangladesh but later turned its bitter opponents. This is not an honest approach," Mr. Bhutto remarked.

## Constitution

About the recent constitutional accord, the President said that the formula maintained a balance, with the result that the Centre was effective and yet the concept of provincial autonomy remained intact. Further, since the Punjab was the majority province, it would have an effective say in the Lower House but the smaller provinces would have adequate safeguards because of the Upper House.

"Those who are opposing this accord," he said, "have no following, and in the political sense they do not matter. At times, I am amused at the criticism and threats of paper-tigers whom I have encountered well."

He said that the draft had been prompted by ideas taken from various constitutions, including the German constitution. It was Parliamentary in character, yet it envisaged a strong and stable Government.

The President said that the Government was committed to solving the problems of the people and the masses who had been subjected to ruthless exploitation in the past. While the previous regimes were tools in the hands of vested interests like capitalists and feudal lords, his Government suffered from no such limitations. The present Government derived its strength from the people and would continue to serve them sincerely and selflessly. "The foundations of a solid Government have been laid", he said, "and it has successfully overcome the very difficult situation during the last 10 months".

After explaining the constitutional accord, the President said he did not understand the hue and cry by some people over ordinary issues like the so-called denial of rights of one province or the other. Such bickering should end because Pakistan could not afford to live with these petty matters for ever."

"Doubts about each other will not help the country. No injustice will be done to any province nor will any part suffer on account of lack of attention to its development," he said.

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# 3 lakh plots for houses

## BHUTTO APPROVES PLAN

President Z. A. Bhutto has approved a scheme for providing three lakh residential and commercial plots in various towns of the country.

This was disclosed by Dr. Mubashir Hasan, Central Finance Minister, at his Press conference in Lahore on Thursday.

He said that all these plots would be developed in one year and sold at reasonable prices. The scheme would provide great relief to the low-income group and solve to some extent the housing problem, he added.

# Govt. shares anxiety of POWs' families —BHUTTO

LYALLPUR, Oct. 26: President Bhutto assured a deputation of women workers of the PPP here today that the Government fully shared the anxiety of the families of the POWs.

It was taking all possible measures for the repatriation of the internees in India, he said.

A delegation of women waited upon the President soon after his arrival here and placed before him their grievances. He told them that all available means for repatriation of the POWs were being pressed into service and the Government would keep on taking effective steps in this connection.

The members of a Christian deputation assured the President that their community by and large had supported the Government policy of nationalising schools and colleges and felt that it was a step in the right direction.

# Indian census shows decline in Muslim population

OCTOBER 26: The analysis of latest census in India, now available here, reveals a decline in the proportion of Muslim population in the overall population of Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir compared to the position in 1961.

This is in sharp contrast to the persistent trend of accelerating growth rate of Muslim population for India as a whole both before and after partition.

According to 1971 census figures, the percentage of Muslim population in the Indian-held Kashmir declined from 68.3 per cent to 65.9 per cent of the total count which is estimated at 46 lakh. Unlike the trends in India, the growth rate of Hindu population in the occupied Kashmir has, on the other hand, been unusually high —38.6 per cent over a 10-year period (1961-71).

# '3-State' accord essential to free POWs, says Azad

CALCUTTA, Oct. 26: The Bangladesh 'Foreign Minister', Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, has said that the problem of POW's was not a one-day or two-way traffic; it will have to be solved through the combined efforts of Bangladesh, Bharat and Pakistan.

In reply to a question Mr. Azad said that Pakistani POWs were alleged to have committed crimes of violence and genocide for which they would be tried in due course of time.

# ICRC delegates to probe POWs' camp firing

An assurance that the ICRC had sent delegates to make an on-the-spot enquiry regarding the recent shooting incident in the POWs camp in India, was given by the President, International Committee of Red Cross, Geneva, in reply to a telegram sent by Begum G. A. Khan, National Commissioner, Pakistan Girls Guides Association on Wednesday.

# Ghazali named cricket team's manager

Wing Commander M.E.Z. Ghazali, a former Test cricketer, was on Thursday appointed Manager of the Pakistan cricket team touring Sri Lanka, Australia and New Zealand this winter.

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# POST-SIMLA ANXIETIES

**BY ABDUL MAJID**

**While the Delhi talks were on, it was indicated by an Indian spokesman that they were progressing "reasonably well", despite Pakistan's non-recognition of Bangladesh and the disturbed feeling in New Delhi over the Chinese veto in the Security Council to bar this applicant's entry into the United Nations.**

The agreement that emerged from these discussions has testified to Pakistan's anxiety to enter into the spirit of the Simla Accord and substantially met Indian expectations. The extension of the period for withdrawal of troops to international borders from September 4 to 15 can be taken to have been necessitated by "certain practical difficulties". Differences over delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir, which was to be completed by September 4, had evidently been resolved, as more positively alleged later by the Indian Foreign Minister, Swaran Singh, the usually tendentious clarifier of agreed positions. This naturally covers both the Lipa Valley and the Kargil Sector. Although there has been no mention in the agreement of the line of control as India's intended international border in Kashmir, its leaders have been vehement in their assertions that the 1949 cease-fire line stands obliterated and has put the U.N. observers out of action and rendered their presence redundant. According to a later Press report, Sardar Swaran Singh has claimed that India has successfully insisted upon its position being accepted. President Bhutto has relevantly pointed out that the United Nations cannot be dissociated from these matters.

## WAR EVACUEES

Pakistan has indeed been accommodating enough to accept the resettlement of Hindu evacuees as a veritable treaty obligation, a subject on which India can subsequently demand clarifications and even accuse this country on any pretext of having failed to abid by its commitment. This exceeds the legitimate interest of one country in any religious minority of another—something that has never been conceded to Pakistan even under the Liaquat-Nehru agreement—and is in some ways reminiscent of the Czarist guardianship of the Christian populations of the Turkish Empire.

If India finds Pakistan so co-operative in its avowed search for a durable peace on the sub-continent, why should it be so upset either by the Chinese veto in the Security Council or by the visit of the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minster, Chao Kuanhua, to Pakistan? There are precedents to show that Pakistan's friendship with China has never stood in the way of an offer from India to settle disputes by discussion, even though it has become instantly clear that the invitation is only a part of its time-gaining strategy or just a convenient escape from an embarrasment. The Bhutto-Swaran Singh talks of a decade back are still remembered. The Indian Foreign Minister was under instructions to be sweet and dilatory without yielding ground. The negotiations left Mr. Bhutto the most disillusioned member of the Ayub Government. The Chinese interfered with the Ministerial talks no more than they have done with the Summit parleys.

Consistently with its policy, and in view of the pressing realities, Pakistan has not been discouraged from pursuing the latest peace initiative by the pressures put upon it by the Indian leaders in their day-to-day statements. Three notable utterances, all very recent and with a direct bearing on the continuing summitry and eventual settlement, have not passed unnoticed by news commentators in this country. A personage no other than Indira Gandhi is reported to have declared after the Simla meeting that the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war would have to wait till the "final settlement" of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. At other times, she has linked their release with considerations of India's security and, without fail, with the concurrence of her "co-victor", Bangladesh. She is least bothered by the provision in the Geneva Conventions which explicitly requires prisoners of war to be "released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities".

## CHINA'S ROLE

She has also declared herself perturbed over the Chinese veto and Chiao Kuanhua's visit to Pakistan as tantamount to foreign interference in the affairs of the sub-continent in direct contravention of the Simla Agreement.

The Indian Foreign Minister has also joined his chief in advising Pakistan to recognise without further delay the "realities of the new situation" on the sub-continent. "We have reiterated to the Pakistan delegation," he told the Lok Sabha on August 30, "that the question of the return of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees cannot be settled without the participation and agreement of the Government of Bangladesh." The questionable part of his statement is the threat held out by him in utter disregard of repeated admissions that the matter was for the Governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh to decide. This is to humiliate Pakistan before an Indian lackey camouflaged as victor, jailer and judge. Another Indian Minister who is manifestly anxious not to be outdone in any tirades against Pakistan, is Jagjivan Ram. His latest is an elaborate statement on India's unprecedented and mounting defence effort. He has denied that any reduction in the military budget is contemplated because of the Simla pact. Although he has not mentioned China by name, the reference is unmistakable in his stress on military preparedness to end the "stranglehold" of "some foreign interests which have sought to encourage strife in the sub-continent". He also claims to be keeping a watchful eye on the sources of arms supply to Pakistan. It is abundantly clear that India seeks to establish the peace that it speaks of by continually intimidating Pakistan into a state of "permanent military imbalance," reversion to India's cultural fold, and discontinuance of its friendship with China and close ties with Muslim countries like Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey.

India lays the blame on Pakistan for the Chinese veto in the Security Council. It would be ridiculous to suppose that Pakistan had wangled the Chinese veto. The Soviet delegate, could have been presented with some instructive material for comparative study when he called it an act of "discriminatory favouritism". The Indian representative, Sunmar Sen, showed the customary injured innocence of his superiors in calling China a "cynical" practitioner of he power politics of the super-Powers that it had been denouncing all along. If the Chinese veto in the Security Council and Chiao Kuanhua's visit to Islamabad are considered acts of interference in the affairs of the sub-continent, much more so would be the successive Soviet vetoes in support of the Indian annexation of Kashmir, the frequent comings and goings between New Delhi and Moscow, and the Indo-Soviet treaty of military alliance which, like the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of August, 1939, proved an immediate precusor of conflict. Unanswerable is the Chinese charge that Bangladesh has lost its case for immediate consideration of its application for U.N. membership by its collusive action with India in obstructing the withdrawal of Indian troops from the occupied territory of Pakistan and in threatening to bring numerous Pakistani prisoners to trial on charges of war crimes. The Chinese action is satisfactorily explained by its stand for the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on troop withdrawals and repatriation of prisoners. The Chinese attitude on the liberation of war prisoners is no different from that urged on India by a body like the International Commission of Jurists.

## A SAFEGUARD

The Chinese veto has not been in Pakistan's hands. It was not prompted, nor could it have been prevented, by Pakistan. China has cast its veto on the side of justice and in exercise of its responsibility to ensure that the resolutions of the world organisation were not defied by any Government even with the connivance of a super-Power. The principle that China has affirmed is precisely the one for which Pakistan has always been contending. This is certainly a close identity of interest. Pakistan would not be expected to damage its cause by doing anything, in deference to Indian wishes, that could reduce the impact of the Chinese veto. President Bhutto has faithfully voiced the dominant feeling of his countrymen by declaring that Pakistan would not hesitate to "forsake all friendships and conditions" if these cost it its "ally, the Peoples Republic of China". There is nothing in this relationship that should cause annoyance to India if it believes that disputes between nations are not to be settled unilaterally by the will of the stronger, but in accordance with the principles of, and obligations contracted under, the U.N. Charter. China's place in the United Nations should operate as a moral check on India and also as aggrieved nations' safeguard against unequal and imposed treaties.


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Pakistan has entered the field of offshore drilling for oil. The first offshore well "Indus Marine" was spudded in October about 100 miles south of Karachi. It is a joint venture of West German and American Oil Companies.

Indian Prime Minister has stated that chances of peace between India and Pakistan have lessened due to the latter's 'hardening atitude'. "This may be due to some external pressures being exerted on Pakistan", she speculated. (V.O.A. Nov.11).

## Asad banned, Shahnaz, Aslam suspended

Asad Malik, the Pakistan Olympic Hockey captain, has been debarred from hockey for good and Pakistan left-winger Shahnaz Sheikh and goalkeeper Mohammad Aslam have been suspended for four years for indiscipline at the medal giving ceremony after the Munich Hockey final.

This was announced on Thursday by a spokesman of the Pakistan Hockey Federation. The decisions were endorsed on Wednesday night at the PHF Working Committee meeting at the Aitchison College. The PHF Chief, Mr. Sadiq Hussain Qureshi was in the chair.

While Asad Malik has been barred from international and national hockey, Shahnaz and Aslam have been allowed to play their clubs in local tournaments only. They will also be out of National Hockey.

## 'Batik Route' opens today

KARACHI, Nov. 2: The Pakistan International Airlines is introducing a new twice-weekly service tomorrow on Karachi-Colombo-Kuala Lumpur-Singapore-Jakarta route.

The first flight on this route, named 'Batik Route'—meaning wax painting in Javanese—is to leave here at 6 a.m. tomorrow. It will reach Jakarta at 7 p.m. the same day. The return flight will leave Jakarta at 8 p.m. and arrive at Karachi at 445 a.m. the following morning. The return flight has been so timed that it will provide immediate connections with PIA's flights to Teheran, Beirut, Athens, Geneva, London and New York on Wednesdays and to Daharan, Damascus, Frankfurt, London and New York on Saturdays.

## Jamaldar State Minister

### FIRST TRIBESMAN AT CENTRE

RAWALPINDI, Nov. 2: President Bhutto has appointed Maj.-Gen. (Rtd.) Jamaldar, Leader of the tribal Members in the National Assembly as Minister for State in the Central Government, it was officially announced today.

PIA has announced special Haj flights from New York. Five different itenrarys are available.

## PML backed Bhutto to save Pakistan

—QAIYUM

GUJAR KHAN, Nov. 2: Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan Minister for Interior and President of the Pakistan Muslim League, declared today: "We have chosen to support Mr. Bhutto not out of love for power or fear from any quarter. Our decision was motivated purely by a desire to save Pakistan in its hour of peril.


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# نئی نسل کا ادب

رشید امجد

## نیا منشور

جسم بے حس و حرکت پڑا ہے۔ میں غور سے دیکھتا ہوں چہرہ کچھ شناسا سا لگتا ہے۔ "کون ہے؟" میں خود سے پوچھتا ہوں، لیکن لفظ میری آواز چھوتے ہی پگھل جاتے ہیں ــــــ

"کون ہے؟" میں جھک کر چہرے پر نظر ڈالتا ہوں۔ چہرے کی شناسائی اپنی طرف کھینچتی ہے۔ میں اور جھک جاتا ہوں، ایک بیک سارے لفظ ایک ایک کر کے لوٹ آتے ہیں۔ اور چہرے کی شناسائی یوں اٹھتی ہے۔ میں پیچھے کی طرف ہٹ آتا ہوں اور کمرے سے نکل کر صحن میں آجاتا ہوں۔

رات میں نے خودکشی کی تھی

رات کا منظر میرے سامنے ابھرتا ہے۔ سونے سے پہلے میں نے نیند کی گولیاں کھا کر خواب آور گولیوں کی شیشی سرہانے رکھ لی تھی اور جب وہ سو گئی تھی تو میں نے ساری گولیاں نگل لی تھیں۔

گولیاں میرے اندر جا کر پھیل گئی تھیں اور دھندلا زرد غبار مجھے اپنے اندر لپیٹنے لگا تھا۔ مجھے یوں محسوس ہوا تھا جیسے میرے پیٹ میں کوئی گولا ہے جو مقناطیس کی طرح میری انتڑیوں کو اپنے گرد لپیٹ رہا ہے۔ میرا سارا جسم ریزہ ریزہ ہو کر اس گولے کی طرف بھاگ رہا تھا۔ میں نے پاس سوئی ہوئی بیوی کو آواز دینے کی کوشش کی تھی لیکن میری آواز میرے اندر ہی لوٹ گئی تھی۔ میں نے بازو ہلانے کی کوشش کی تھی لیکن وہ بھی ٹوٹ کر نیچے جا گرا تھا۔ گولا تیزی سے چیزوں کو سمیٹ رہا تھا اور چیزیں تڑخ تڑخ کر اس کی طرف دوڑ رہی تھیں۔ پھر رفتہ رفتہ ذہن میں ابھرتے بلبلے ایک ایک کر کے پھیل گئے، انتڑیوں کا کھنچاؤ رک گیا اور میں دلدل میں ڈوبتا چلا گیا۔

دھندلا زرد غبار چھٹنے لگتا ہے اور میرا جسم دھیرے دھیرے دلدل میں سے اوپر اٹھتا ہے ــــــ

میں آہستہ سے اپنے بازو پھیلاتا ہوں اور خود بخود ہوا میں اٹھتا چلا جاتا ہوں۔ میرا جسم نیچے دلدل میں رہ جاتا ہے، میں اوپر اٹھتے ہوئے اسے دیکھتا ہوں۔ وہ پھر نیچے ترین گر جاتا ہے اور بہت سے سائے اس کے گرد اکٹھے ہونے لگتے ہیں۔ میں ہوا کے فرش پر قدم رکھتا چپ چاپ باہر نکل آتا ہوں۔ صحن میں سب افراتفری کے عالم میں ادھر ادھر بھاگ رہے ہیں۔ میں ان کے درمیان جا کھڑا ہوتا ہوں، لیکن کوئی میری طرف نہیں دیکھتا۔

"کیوں ــــ؟" میں اپنے آپ سے سوال کرتا ہوں، لیکن مجھے جواب نہیں سوجھتا ــــــ

میں ان کو آواز دیتا ہوں، لیکن کوئی بھی میری آواز پر توجہ نہیں دیتا۔

"کیوں ــــ؟" میں لفظوں کو ٹٹولتا ہوں، لیکن لفظ میرے ہاتھ نہیں آتے ــــــ

سب لوگ کونے والے کمرے میں چلے جاتے ہیں، میں صحن میں اکیلا رہ جاتا ہوں ــــــ

"بات کیا ہے؟" میں لفظوں کو تلاش کرتا ہوں ــــــ

"بات کیا ہے ــــ؟"

سنسان صحن مجھے پھر کمرے میں اچھال دیتا ہے۔ سب لوگ بڑے پلنگ کے گرد پریشانی کے عالم میں کھڑے ایک دوسرے کا منہ دیکھ رہے ہیں۔ کوئی مجھے آتے ہوئے نہیں دیکھتا۔ میں ان کے سروں کے اوپر سے جھانکتا ہوں، پلنگ پر ایک شخص کا

## غزل

اختر شیرانی

رات ہجراں کا تصور دل کو تڑپاتا رہا
ایک نقشہ سامنے آتا رہا جاتا رہا

ان لبوں کو بھی نہ تھا [illegible]
ہم نے مانا گر بھر وہ [illegible]

اس طرف وہ نازنیں جیسے میں پیچ اضطراب
اس طرف نادان دل سینے میں گھبراتا رہا

محفلِ جاناں میں سب [illegible]
کوئی اختر سے بھی [illegible]

## پاکستان کی پہلی خاتون وائس چانسلر

ڈاکٹر مس کنیز یوسف پاکستان کی نامور ماہر تعلیم اور ممتاز دانشور خاتون ہیں جنہیں حکومت نے اسلام آباد کی یونیورسٹی کے وائس چانسلر کے عہدۂ جلیلہ پر فائز کیا ہے۔

ڈاکٹر مس کنیز یوسف پاکستان کو ایک عظیم فلاحی ریاست میں تبدیل کرنے کے طلب دار سیاستدان صدر بھٹو کی طرح باضمیر اور بلند پایہ ترقی پسند شخصیت ہیں انہیں اپنے اصول بے حد عزیز ہیں۔ اسی کی خاطر موصوفہ نے یحییٰ خانی آمریت کے عہد میں پے در پے تبادلوں کے مصائب رشدانہ برداشت کئے مگر اپنے نظریات و عقائد پر قائم رہیں وہ ناانصاف معاشرے کو بدلنے کی جدوجہد میں ہمیشہ پیش پیش رہی ہیں وہ صفائی کی جگہ اسلامی انسانی اقدار کی علمبردار ہیں۔

اسلامی دنیا کے اکثر مدبر مسلمان ممالک کے سیاسی اور اقتصادی اتحاد و اشتراک کے سوال پر بحث کے دوران افغانستان کی اقتصادی پسماندگی کا بالطور خاص ذکر کرتے ہیں۔ لیکن ڈاکٹر مس کنیز یوسف نے پی ایچ ڈی کے لئے جو مقالہ سپرد قلم کیا وہ ایران۔ پاکستان اور افغانستان کے سیاسی اور اقتصادی تعاون پہ ہی کے موضوع پر ہے جس نے عرصہ دراز اس مقالے سے پہلا طرح کی خاتون دانشور ہیں جنہوں نے عالم اسلام کے ایک انتہائی اہم گوشے یعنی واقعی بھی مسلمان ممالک کے اقتصادی اور سیاسی حالات پر ناصحانہ اظہار رائے کیا۔

ڈاکٹر مس یوسف نہایت شفیق، ہمدرد اور انصاف پسند منتظم ہیں۔ وہ امریکہ اور کینیڈا گئیں اور وہاں سے واپس پر ایسی ڈگریاں لائی کہ ان کی ماونٹ ہولی اس اعلیٰ الرتبت درسگاہ میں تقرر کا اعزاز حاصل ہوا۔ وہ پاکستان کی واحد خاتون ہیں جو اسلام آباد یونیورسٹی کی رکن اور سنڈیکیٹ کی بورڈ کی چیئرمین بھی رہی ہیں۔

عوامی حکومت نے ڈاکٹر مس کنیز یوسف کو اسلام آباد یونیورسٹی کے وائس چانسلر کے منصب پر فائز کر کے نہ صرف حق بہ حقدار رسید کے تقاضے پورے کئے ہیں بلکہ اسلام آباد کی اس عظیم جامعہ کے مرتبے و وقار اور حیثیت میں بھی زبردست اضافہ کیا ہے۔ پاکستان ڈاکٹر مس کنیز یوسف کی ذات پر بجا طور پر فخر کر سکتا ہے۔

## رشتہ ــــ یہ مجھے قید کی طرح لگتا ہے

مئی اور جون ۱۹۷۲ء میں دیئے گئے تمام ششماہی چندے اب قابلِ تجدید ہیں۔ براہ کرم آج ہی ۵ ڈالر کا چیک روانہ کریں تاکہ اخبار کی فراہمی میں تعطل پیدا نہ ہو۔ آپ ہی کے تعاون سے یہ اخبار یہاں تک پہنچا ہے اور ہم امید کرتے ہیں کہ آئندہ بھی یہ تعاون ہمیں حاصل رہے گا۔ دیارِ غیر میں پاکستان کی آواز کو بلند رکھیئے۔ شکریہ!!!

منتخب خبریں

پاکستان

# پاکستانی حجاج کا آخری جہاز حج سے ۲ روز قبل جدہ پہنچے گا

## ۱۵ ہزار عازمین سعودی عرب پہنچ چکے ہیں، ۹ ہزار طیاروں سے سفر کریں گے

## پشاور ہائی کورٹ کے نئے چیف جسٹس کا تقرر

# مشرقی پاکستان کا مسئلہ محب وطن عناصر کی تائید سے حل کیا جائے

## مجیب اور مظفر سے معاملات طے کرنا باعث شرم ہے، میاں طفیل محمد کی تقریر

# پاکستان مذاکرات کے بغیر بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم نہیں کرے گا!

## بنگلہ دیش ثابت کرے کہ وہ بھی قابل عمل تعلق چاہتا ہے، افتخار علی کی پریس کانفرنس

## لوشتہ دیوار پڑھیے

## سردار قیوم کو کے ایچ خورشید کا مشورہ

## ۳۰ سال سے زائد عمر کے قیدیوں کی سزا معاف

# حکومت کسی حالت میں بھی بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم نہ کرے

## جنگی قیدیوں کے معاملہ پر کوئی سودا نہ کیا جائے، لاہور میں جلسہ عام کا مطالبہ

## چھوٹی صنعتوں کے دائرہ میں توسیع

# بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم کرنے سے بھارت آزادی کا علمبردار اور پاکستان جارح قرار پائیگا، مولانا مودودی

## بنگلہ دیش کو تسلیم نہ کیا جائے، لاہور بار کی قرارداد

کرنل حق نواز گیلانی

نے جان سے کھیل کر

بھارتی فوج کو پیچھے دھکیلا

# کسی کو قانون ہاتھ میں لینے کی اجازت نہیں دی جائیگی، مینگل

## صوبے کے قبائل کے درمیان رومن اور بھارت جیسا ایک معاہدہ ہوا ہے

## حکومت سندھ نے مجھ سے تنگ ہو کر میرے مقابلے پر گئی ہے میں بھی ایسا ہی رویہ اختیار کروں گا

## مجاہد کاظمی انتقال کر گئے

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# برطانیہ کے پاکستانیوں کو پاکستان میں فیکٹریاں لگانے کے لئے قرضہ کی سہولتیں

اسلام آباد (نمائندہ خصوصی) باخبر ذرائع سے معلوم ہوا ہے کہ حکومت پاکستان نے برطانیہ اور دوسرے بیرونی ملکوں میں مقیم پاکستانیوں کو پاکستان میں مشینری تیار کرنے کے کارخانے لگانے کے لئے خصوصی قرضے دینے کی سکیم تیار کی ہے۔ یہ سکیم برطانیہ اور دوسرے ملکوں میں مقیم پاکستانیوں کو ملک میں سرمایہ کاری کی سہولتیں فراہم کرنے کی غرض سے تیار کی گئی ہے۔ حکومت چاہتی ہے کہ بیرونی ملکوں کے پاکستانی ملک میں مشینری بنانے کے کارخانے لگائیں تاکہ پاکستان کی صنعتی ترقی کی رفتار میں زبردست اضافہ ہو۔ معلوم ہوا ہے کہ دوسری صنعتیں لگانے والوں کو بھی قرضہ وغیرہ کی سہولتیں مہیا کی جائیں گی لیکن مشینری کے کارخانے لگانے والوں کو اس ضمن میں قرضہ کی خصوصی سہولتیں اور رعائتیں دی جائیں گی۔

یہ بھی معلوم ہوا ہے کہ سٹیٹ بنک آف پاکستان نے بنکنگ اصلاحات کے تحت ایک سکیم جاری کی ہے جس کا مقصد ملک میں تیار ہونے والی مشینری کی اندرون اور بیرون ملک فروخت کو فروغ دینے کے لئے مالی امداد دینا ہے۔ اس سکیم کے تحت ہر قسم کی مشینری تیار کرنے والے کارخانہ داروں کو قرضوں کی سہولتیں دی جائیں گی۔ اس سکیم کے تحت پاکستانی صنعت کاروں کو مشینری برآمد کرنے کے لئے بھی قرضے کی سہولتیں مہیا کی جائیں گی۔

## صدر بھٹو عوام کی شکایات خود سنا کریں گے

لائلپور (نمائندہ خصوصی) صدر بھٹو نے کہا ہے کہ میں عنقریب راولپنڈی میں ایک الگ دفتر قائم کروں گا اور وہاں ایک ہفتہ میں دو گھنٹے عوام کی شکایات سنوں گا۔ انہوں نے یہاں اخبار نویسوں میں تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ پاکستان آزاد معاشرہ ہے جہاں ہر شخص کو اعلیٰ افسران کے خلاف اپنی شکایات کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے۔ تعاون ساز اداروں کے دکانوں کے خلاف شکایات موجودہ حکومت کے لئے نئی بات نہیں یہ انہیں اس سے قبل اور بعد میں بھی پیش آئی ہیں ...

# سکھر کی ترقی کے لئے تین کروڑ روپے خرچ کئے جائیں گے

سکھر (نمائندہ جنگ) سکھر کو ترقی یافتہ شہروں کی صف میں لانے کے لئے حکومت سندھ کی کیبنٹ سب کمیٹی نے جن اسکیموں کی منظوری دی ہے ان اسکیموں پر مختلف مرحلوں میں تین کروڑ روپیہ کی رقم خرچ کی جائے گی اس رقم کا سب سے بڑا حصہ آباد کاری پر صرف ہوگا۔ اسکیم کے مطابق دریائے سندھ کے بائیں کنارے پر ایک مضافاتی بستی تعمیر کی جائے گی جس میں مختلف شعبہ ہائے زندگی سے تعلق رکھنے والے لوگوں کو آباد کیا جائے گا۔ سندھ کے وزیر اعلیٰ مسٹر ممتاز بھٹو کی ہدایت پر سکھر میں کیبنٹ سب کمیٹی کا جو اجلاس منعقد ہوا تھا اس میں فیصلہ کیا گیا کہ سکھر بندر روڈ کو خوبصورت تفریحی علاقے میں تبدیل کر دیا جائے۔ لب مہران محلہ جزیرہ پر ایک خوبصورت پارک تعمیر کیا جائے اور بندر روڈ سے ریلوے سائیڈنگ کو پرانی جگہ منتقل کر دیا جائے نیز مشہور تاریخی مسجد منزل گاہ اور اس کے گرائونڈ میں پارک کی تعمیر کے ساتھ ساتھ ایک بارہ دری اور مینارہ بھی تعمیر کیا جائے۔ اس اسکیم پر تقریباً چھ لاکھ روپیہ کی رقم اس سال ہی خرچ کی جائے گی اس کے علاوہ کیبنٹ سب کمیٹی نے شہر کی نو پسماندہ بستیوں جن میں نصرت کالونی اور بنیاپنڈ جاگیرانی محلہ اور ریجنٹ کے علاقے شامل ہیں ان میں بجلی پانی اور گندے پانی کی نکاس کا بندوبست کرنے کا فیصلہ کیا ہے اس منصوبہ پر بھی سال رواں میں ۱۲ لاکھ روپیہ خرچ کئے جائیں گے۔ الٰہی بخش شاہ اور کوہ بست سندھ کو بھی تفریحی مقامات میں تبدیل کرنے کا فیصلہ کرتے ہوئے کمیٹی نے شہر سے موجودہ بس اسٹینڈ کو ایرپورٹ کے قریب منتقل کرنے کا حکم دیا ہے۔ کمیٹی نے شہر کی ترقی کے لئے ایک نیا شہر بسانے کے لئے سکھر کی تقریباً ۱۰ سوسائٹیوں کو زمین دی گئی تھی اب ان سوسائٹیوں کو بھی دریائے سندھ کے بائیں کنارے پر نئی مجوزہ بستی سیٹلائٹ ٹاؤن میں زمینات دی جائیں گی۔

# حکومت دو کروڑ بالغوں کی تعلیم پر بھی توجہ دے گی

مرکزی وزیر تعلیم کا اعلان، پارٹی کے کارکنوں سے عوام سے مسلسل رابطہ قائم رکھنے کی اپیل

(اے پی پی) مرکزی وزیر تعلیم مسٹر عبدالحفیظ پیرزادہ نے پارٹی کے کارکنوں پر زور دیا ہے کہ وہ حکومت کی طرف سے نافذ کی جانے والی اصلاحات پر عملدرآمد کے سلسلے میں عوام سے رابطہ قائم کریں ...

## شہنشاہ ایران کی طرف سے بلوچستان کی حکومت کو ایک نادر تحفہ

... بلوچستان کی حکومت کو بھیجا ہے۔ بلوچستان کی حکومت نے اس نادر تحفے کے لئے شہنشاہ ایران کا شکریہ ادا کیا ہے اور قرآن کریم کے اس نسخہ کو کوئٹہ کے عجائب گھر میں نمائش کے لئے رکھ دیا گیا ہے۔

## چالیس مشرقی پاکستانی قصور پہنچنے میں کامیاب ہو گئے

لاہور (ے پ پ) نام نہاد بنگلہ دیش اور بھارت میں پھنسے ہوئے مغربی پاکستانی باشندوں کی حالت بد سے بدتر ہوتی جا رہی ہے اور دلال بڑی بڑی رقوم لیکر انہیں مغربی پاکستان اسمگل کر رہے ہیں یہ بات ان چالیس مغربی پاکستانی باشندوں نے بتائی جو نام نہاد بنگلہ دیش سے بچ نکلنے میں کامیابی کے بعد کلکتہ اور مشرقی پنجاب ہوتے ہوئے دو روز قبل پاکستان کے سرحدی ضلع قصور پہنچے ہیں انہوں نے بتایا کہ اسمگلروں نے ان سے ہر بالغ کے لئے ڈیڑھ ہزار روپے اور بچے کے آٹھ سو روپے لئے انہوں نے بتایا کہ انہیں دو راتیں ایک متعفن اصطبل میں گذارنا پڑیں جس میں حشرات الارض کی بہتات تھی یہاں سکھ اسمگلروں نے شراب پی کر خواتین کی بے حرمتی کرنے کی کوشش کی لیکن مردوں نے مزاحمت کر کے انہیں روک دیا۔ انہوں نے بتایا کہ مشرقی پاکستان میں مکتی باہنی کے غنڈے مغربی پاکستانیوں، بہاریوں اور محب وطن بنگالیوں کے گھر لوٹ رہے ہیں اور ہر طرف لاقانونیت کا دور دورہ ہے۔ انہوں نے حکومت پاکستان سے اپیل کی کہ مجیب کی حکومت کو ہرگز تسلیم نہ کیا جائے۔ ان لوگوں نے مکتی باہنی کی بربریت کی رونگٹے کھڑے کر دینے والی تفصیلات بیان کیں۔ انہوں نے بتایا کہ کم از کم پچاس ہزار غیر بنگالی لڑکیوں کو مشرقی پاکستان سے اغوا کر کے کلکتہ اور دیگر بھارتی شہروں کے بازار حسن میں فروخت کیا جا چکا ہے۔ ان میں سے بعض نے خودکشی کر لی ہے اور بقیہ نہایت شرمناک زندگی بسر کرنے پر مجبور ہیں۔ لاہور کے ایک روزنامہ کی اطلاع کے مطابق مغربی پاکستان پہنچنے والے ان افراد میں ۳۰ کراچی کے، ایک حیدرآباد کا اور ایک لاہور کا باشندہ ہے ان میں بندرہ بچے شامل ہیں اور ۵ عورتیں ہیں یہ لوگ پانچ ماہ میں یہاں پہنچنے میں کامیاب ہوئے ہیں۔

## ریٹائرڈ ملازمین کی بابت ابھی کوئی فیصلہ نہیں ہوا

... ریٹائرڈ ملازمین کی اپیلوں پر غور کیا جا رہا ہے ...

## محکمہ محافظین ملت

پشاور ... صوبہ سرحد کی پولیس کا نام بدل کر "محکمہ محافظین ملت" رکھ دیا جائے۔ کانسٹیبل کو محافظ اور انسپکٹر جنرل کو "محافظ اعلیٰ" کہا جائے ... یہ تجویز مولانا مفتی محمود کی حکومت کے اس نقطہ نظر کے تحت پیش کی گئی ہے کہ تمام قوانین و ضوابط کو اسلامی بنایا جائے۔

انوار رات ۸ بجے سے ۹ بجے تک "ہماری دنیا پاکستان" CHIN FM-101 سے سنئے

# زیادہ سے زیادہ عازمین حج کو بحری راستے سے بھیجا جائے گا

## مناسک حج کا آنکھوں دیکھا حال نشر کرنے کے انتظامات کئے جا رہے ہیں

لاہور (پ پ) مرکزی وزیر اطلاعات، نشریات، اوقاف و حج مولانا کوثر نیازی نے کہا ہے کہ جن لوگوں نے ایک مرتبہ فریضہ حج ادا کر لیا ہے ... تمام عازمین حج کو بحری جہازوں کے ذریعہ بھیجا جا سکتا ہے ...

# بلوچستان کے قبائلی علاقوں میں کانوں کے لائسنس منسوخ کر کے دوبارہ جاری کئے جائیں گے

## کچھ کانوں کا انتظام حکومت خود سنبھال لے گی، گورنر بزنجو کا انٹرویو

کوئٹہ (اے پی پی) حکومت بلوچستان قبائلی علاقوں میں کانوں کی مراعات کو عقلی اصولوں پر اسی طرح منظم کرنے کے لئے ایک آرڈیننس نافذ کر رہی ہے ...

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# ہلالِ عید

خزاں میں مجھ کو رلاتی ہے یادِ فصلِ بہار
خوشی ہو عید کی کیونکر کہ سوگوار ہوں میں
اُجاڑ ہو گئے عہدِ کہن کے میخانے
گزشتہ بادہ پرستوں کی یادگار ہوں میں
پیامِ عیش و مسرت ہمیں سُناتا ہے
ہلالِ عید ہماری ہنسی اُڑاتا ہے

اقبالؒ ______

# خط آپ کے

ادارہ کا مراسلہ نگاروں کی آراء سے متفق ہونا ضروری نہیں

ٹورانٹو
۳۱ ستمبر ۷۲ء

مکرمی آداب!

۱۵ ستمبر کا پرچہ "صدائے پاکستان" موصول ہوا۔ چند منقول اور تازہ ترین خبروں کے علاوہ کوئی ایڈیٹوریل یا حالات حاضرہ پر ایسا مضمون دیکھنے میں نہیں آیا جو ترکِ وطن کرنے والے مقیم پاکستانیوں کے حالات اور طرزِ عمل کا ترجمان معلوم ہوتا۔ جہاں تک میں سمجھتا ہوں صدائے پاکستان فقط پاکستان کے حالات اور خبریں مہیا کرنے کیلئے وقف نہیں ہونا چاہیئے۔ بلکہ اس پرچے کا مقصد کینیڈا میں بسنے والے پاکستانیوں کو حالات حاضرہ سے باخبر رکھنے کے علاوہ ... [illegible]

[illegible]

فقط
اسلم مرزا

---

# بنگلہ دیش میں کفن نہ ملنے کے باعث مُردوں کو کیلے کے پتوں میں لپیٹ کر دفن کیا جارہا ہے

فاقہ کشی سے مجبور ہو کر لوگ اپنے بچوں کو فروخت کر رہے ہیں: غذائی بلوؤں کو دبانے کیلئے بھارتی فوج بُلالی گئی

## ۲۵ ہزار بھارتی جاسوس بھیس بدل کر بنگلہ دیش میں گھوم رہے ہیں

روس نے چاٹگام میں بحری اڈہ بنالیا: بھاشانی کے اخبار "حق کتھا" کا انکشاف

لندن۔ جنگ نیوز۔ بھاشانی نیپ کے ترجمان ہفت روزہ "حق کتھا" نے لکھا ہے کہ گزشتہ نو ماہ میں مشرقی پاکستان میں مجیب ازم کے نام پر بے گناہ لوگوں کا بہت بڑے پیمانے پر قتل ہوا ہے۔ حق کتھا نے انکشاف کیا ہے کہ ڈھاکہ میں عوامی لیگ کی حکومت نے ... [illegible]

بھارتیوں سے باقاعدہ بھارتی اربوں روپے کی دولت مشرقی پاکستان سے لے گئے جسے واپس لینے کیلئے حکومت نے اب تک کوئی کارروائی نہیں کی۔ ہفت روزہ نے شیخ مجیب الرحمن کی حکومت سے ۲۰ سوالات کئے ہیں جن سے صوبے کی موجودہ صورت حال واضح ہو جاتی ہے ان میں سے بعض سوالات درج ذیل ہیں۔ (۱) آپ کی حکومت نے کلکتہ سے ... [illegible]

جو رقم حاصل کی تھی اس کا حساب دیجئے۔ (۲) مشرقی پاکستان سے بھارتی ۲۵ ہزار کروڑ کی جو دولت لے گئے اس کو واپس کرنے کیلئے آپ نے اب تک کیا کارروائی کی ہے (۳) بھارتی فوج نے بنگلہ دیش کی فوج سے جو ہتھیار چھینے تھے انھیں واپس لینے کیلئے آپ نے کیا اقدامات کئے ہیں (۴) روسیوں نے چاٹگام میں کیا دیا ہی بحری اڈہ کیوں بنالیا ہے۔ جبکہ ان کا اڈہ بحیرہ روم میں موجود ہے (۵) آپ نے مجیب ازم کے نام پر ۳ ہزار بے گناہ افراد کو کیوں قتل کیا؟

---

# بنگلہ دیش میں محبانِ وطن کو ووٹ کے حق سے محروم کر دیا گیا

اگلے سال ۷ مارچ کو عام انتخابات ہونگے، قائد اعظم پر مجیب کے رکیک حملے

ڈھاکہ۔ ریڈیو پاکستان ... [illegible]

## چین سے دوستی، پاکستان سے تصفیہ

بنگلہ دیش کے دو مقاصد

[illegible]

## بنگلہ دیش کاواپس کرنے ... سے ... نقصان ہوا ہے

[illegible]

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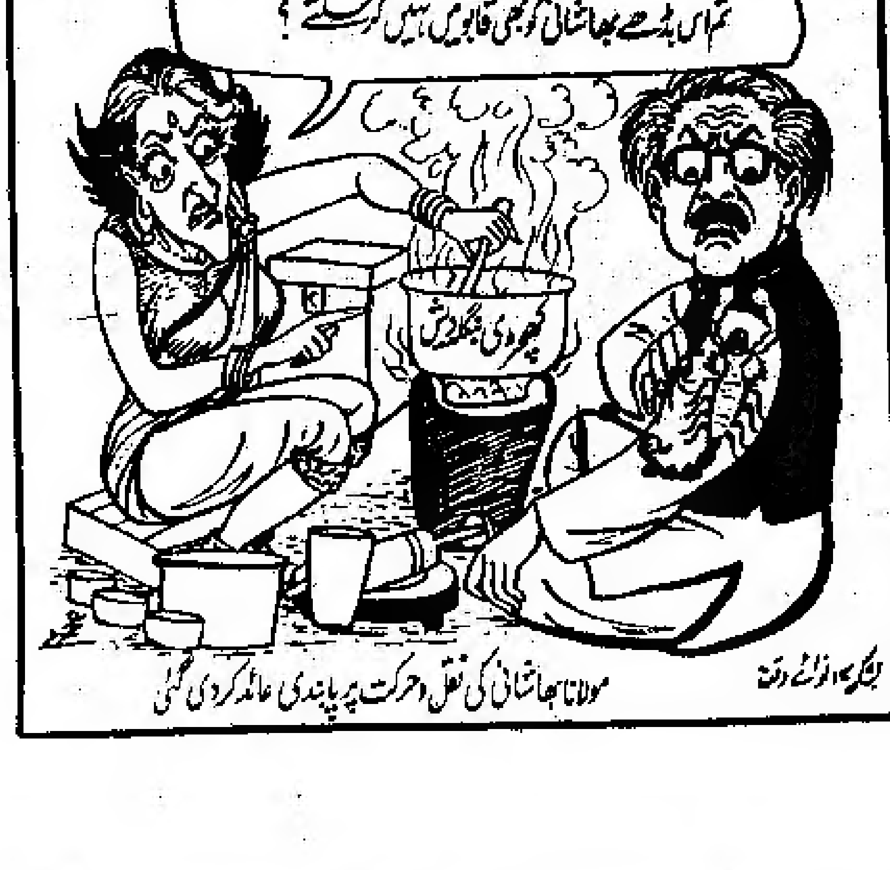


مولانا بھاشانی کی نقل و حرکت پر پابندی عائد کر دی گئی

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کیا آپ "صدائے پاکستان" کے سالانہ خریدار ہیں؟ آج ہی چندہ روانہ کریں۔

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سو قریب ہے شاید میرے دل کے لئے
کبھی بے کبھی نے اذاں لا الٰہ الا اللہ

## صدائے پاکستان

# کچھ خبر بھی ہے اسیرانِ بلا کی

ڈھاکہ بام ہونے کو تھے جب مشرقی پاکستان میں بھارت کی جارحیت، عیاری، اقوامی توہین اور انسانی شرف و عہد کا گریبان تار تار کرتی ہوئی مشینوں اور ٹینکوں کی صورت میں نمودار ہوتی تھی اور پاکستانی افواج نے وطن کو اپنی جان کا نذرانہ پیش کر دیا تھا۔ مگر سرنگوں ہو جانے کے احکام جاری ہوتے اور ہمارے جیالوں نے جس کرب اور حسرت کے ساتھ کفر کے سامنے ہتھیار ڈالے اس سے ایک بار فلک بھی کانپ اٹھا تھا۔

فوجی اور سول افسر اسیر ہوئے، جوانوں کے پاؤں میں ذلت اور رسوائی کی بیڑیاں ڈال دی گئیں، محب وطن پاکستانی شہریوں کا پانی بند کر دیا گیا۔ لاکھوں خاندان اجڑ گئے اور ان گنت زندگی اور موت کی سرحدوں پر اپنی امید کو تکتے تکتے جاں بلب ہوئے، ستارے ٹوٹے اور چاند گہنا گیا۔

اسیرانِ بلا کے لاکھوں وابستگانِ غم، دل پر چوٹ کھا کے بے حال ہوتے۔ مگر اس خیال نے حوصلہ دیا کہ اشیا اور قربانی کے چراغ دلوں کا غم آلود چہرہ منور کر دیں گے اور ضبط کے بند ٹوٹ گئے تڑپتے جذبات، آنسوؤں کی طرح خود بخود بہہ نکلے، لٹتے ہوئے درد بلند ہوا۔ رنجیدہ دلوں پر حزن و ملال کے سائے گہرے ہوتے گئے اور فضا میں دل خون شدہ کی بو پھیلنے لگی۔

"چمن بندوں" نے کیا شور مچایا اور رقص بسمل سے غارت گروں کا کام بن آتیا۔ بے بسیوں کی طرح چاک دامانی پر مسکرانا سیکھو۔ حلق میں آہیں رک گئیں۔ نالے خاموش ہوتے گئے۔ اور عزیزوں نے نشیب و فراز کا دامن تھام لیا۔ مگر یہی مسائل میں سکتی رہی، حرفِ شکایت زبان پر نہ آتی۔ پھر درد کے ناموس اور زخموں کا تماشا بنایا جاتا۔ لوگ جھے قرار آگیا۔ سکون چھا گیا۔ اسیرانِ جنگ کا کوئی مستقل ہی نہ رہا۔ چند روز "پردہ نشینی" کے چراغ جلے۔ وہ بھی ایک ایک کرکے بجھتے رہے اور عشرت کدہ کے قمقمے پھر روشن ہو گئے۔

ہمارے اہلِ ہمت جوان اور افسر قید و بند کی صعوبتیں کیسی برداشت کر رہے ہیں، اس کا اہلِ نظر کسی سے پوشیدہ نہیں۔ مگر ہم بڑے دکھ اور کرب کے ساتھ یہ بات کہہ رہے ہیں کہ پاکستانی قوم نے غیرت مندی اور فرض شناسی کا اچھا ثبوت نہیں دیا۔ کسی قوم کی عظمت کا اندازہ دو ہی موقعوں پر لگایا جا سکتا ہے۔ انتہائی خوشی کے وقت یا انتہائی رنج کے عالم میں۔ دونوں حالتوں میں ہمارے ہاتھ سے توازن اور فرض شناسی کا دامن چھوٹ گیا۔ سچ یہ ہے اسیرانِ جنگ کے بارے میں قوم کا اجتماعی رویہ کچھ بے حسی اور بے تعلقی کا رہا ہے۔ بھارت نے مشرقی پاکستان کے کتنے ہوتے چند لاکھ محب وطن مہاجرین کے تمام پر تنہا جنگ کا بہت بڑا خطرہ مول لیا اور ہم لاکھوں انسانی بیٹیوں کے سپرد کرکے سکھ چین سے بیٹھے جام عشرت پی رہے ہیں۔

ہم نے یکسر فراموش کر دیا تو جنگی قیدیوں اور شہری اسیروں کا مسئلہ چند لاکھ افراد کا مسئلہ ہے اور اسے حل کرنے کی تمام تر ذمہ داری حکومت کی ہے اور غم کھانے کا حق صرف ان لوگوں کے جگر گوشے، جن کے رکھوالے اور جن کے مستقبل کے سہارے بھارت کی قید میں چلے گئے۔ مشکل وقت کا یہ رویہ ہمیں دل شکنی اور اجنبیت سے دل خراش ہے۔

یہ اسیر تھے جو مشرقی پاکستان میں قوم کی عظمت اور وقار اور حاکمیت کے تحفظ کے لیے سینہ سپر رہے تھے۔ وطن کے دفاع میں شیر دل پا مردی اور لڑتے ہوئے آخری گولی تک لڑتے رہے، ان کے قدم آگے بڑھے اور وہ دشمن کے اسیر ہوئے۔ اور اب ہم عرصہ دراز سے ان کے دکھ دیکھتے رہے۔ ہمارے خوشی کے میلے لگتے رہے۔ یہی حال رہا۔ تو پھر کس کا سینہ قوم کے لیے زخم کھائے گا۔ وہ اب تک۔ اور کل میں پھر کوئی شہید بنے گا؟ ہم احسان فراموشی اور مدہوشی کی جس روش پر چل نکلے ہیں۔ وہ سوئے عدم جاتی ہے۔

اسیروں کے غم کو پوری قوم نے اگر اپنا غم نہ سمجھا تو چند لاکھ خاندان کس آس اور سہارے پر پہاڑ سے غم کاٹیں گے اور انہیں اپنی قوم کے ساتھ کیا ذہنی اور جذباتی وابستگی رہے گی۔ رنج و الم میں سب شریک ہوں۔ تو جاں فروشی اور ایثار کیشی میں لذت محسوس ہوتی ہے اور درخشندہ روایات کو تازہ خون ملتا رہتا ہے۔ اور اگر معاشرہ عیش و عشرت میں ڈوبا رہے تو ستم رسیدہ ذہنوں سے نفرت، انتقام اور بغاوت کے شعلے لپکیں گے اور روایات کے ادارے ٹوٹ پھوٹ جائیں گے۔ شہادت کی حوصلہ افزائی کی بجائے بڑھنے والا ایک قدم بھی لڑکھڑا گیا۔ اور اجتماعیت، ایثار کے بغیر زندہ نہ رہ سکے گی۔

یہ کیسی اجتماعی زندگی ہے کہ ہمیں خبر ہی نہیں زخم کیسے لگے اور خون کہاں کہاں بہا؟ عوام کے اندر سے ایسی تنظیمیں ابھرنی چاہئیں تھیں جو ایک ایک شہر اور ایک ایک گاؤں میں دستِ صبا کی طرح دلوں کے زخم تلاش کرتیں اور ان پر مرہم رکھتیں۔ ہماری سیاسی جماعتیں اور معاشرتی ادارے کسی اور ہی گرداب بلا میں پھنسے ہوئے ہوں۔ یہ خوشی کی بات ہے حکومت نے اپنے وسائل سے متاثرین کی مالی امداد بہم پہنچائی۔ مگر عوام کی دلجوئی اور دست گیری کی اور ہی بات ہے۔ پھر سارے مسائل پیسوں سے حل نہیں کئے جا سکتے۔ گھر میں مرد نہ ہو۔ یا جوان بیٹے اور جوان بھائی کی تصویر آنکھوں کی مانند تیرتی ہو۔ اس وقت کیسی کیسی نفسیاتی، معاشرتی اور ذہنی الجھنیں ناسور بنتی ہیں۔

اس کا اندازہ اہلِ دل اور اہلِ نظر ہی کر سکتے ہیں۔ دل کی تنہائی ڈسنے کو آتی ہے اور احساس کے شعلے روح کو جلاتے رہتے ہیں۔ ایسے میں کسی کی محبت بھری آواز، کسی کا خلوص میں ڈوبا ہوا جملہ، دردمندی کا سادہ سا تحفہ، سکون دیتا ہے، قرار بخشتا ہے اور ایثار کا حوصلہ عطا کرتا ہے۔ نرم الفاظ میں شفیق ہاتھ، دکھی کو کسی کا ساتھ، حب بنفسی اور افراتفری ہے۔

ہماری حکومت نے بعض ایسے اقدامات کئے جن کی تعریف دکھ زیادتی ہوگی۔ جنگی قیدیوں کے خاندانوں کے ساتھ رابطہ قائم کیا اور انہیں ہر طرح کی سہولتیں فراہم کرنے کا اہتمام ہوا۔ مختلف مقامات پر مراکز کھول دیے۔ مگر یہ ساری سرگرمیاں تیزی تر شہروں میں محدود ہیں۔ گاؤں میں فوجی سپاہیوں کے عزیزوں اور رشتہ داروں کو مختلف انداز کی تکلیفوں کا سامنا ہے۔ ہمیں معلوم ہوا ہے کہ بعض ڈاک خانوں میں تنخواہوں کی رقوم پر کمیشن وصول کیا جاتا ہے اور میلہ لگ، عورتوں کی سادگی اور بیمارت سے ناجائز فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں۔

ہم سمجھتے ہیں حکومتِ پاکستان کو بین الاقوامی سطح پر زبردست سرگرمیوں کا آغاز کرنا چاہیے تھا۔ جنگی قیدیوں اور شہری اسیروں کا مسئلہ بہت بڑا انسانی مسئلہ ہے جس کے حق میں بڑے پیمانے پر رائے عامہ منظم کی جا سکتی تھی۔ مختلف ملکوں میں ہماری طرف سے وفود جاتے۔ جو بھارت کی جارحیت اور جنگی قیدیوں کی حالتِ زار کا صحیح نقشہ کھینچتے اور انسانیت کے ضمیر میں ہلچل پیدا کر دیتے۔ اس کے علاوہ ہر بین الاقوامی پلیٹ فارم سے جنگی اسیروں کی آواز اٹھنی چاہیے تھی۔ بین الاقوامی سیاست کے صحافتی مراکز پر بھی مستعدی اور عمدہ کارکردگی کا مظاہرہ کرنا چاہیے تھا مگر ہماری طرف سے مسلسل خاموشی اختیار کی گئی اور یوں محسوس ہوا۔ جیسے پاکستان اپنے جنگی قیدیوں کے بارے میں کچھ زیادہ مضطرب نہیں۔ غیر ملکی اخبارات پڑھنے سے علم ہوتا ہے کہ ہماری ... ہے۔ اس بے نام خاموشی کے اسباب کیا ہیں۔ ہم تفصیل میں اس وقت جانا پسند نہیں کرتے، مگر یہ عرض کرنا اپنا فرض سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہم نے ناقابلِ معافی جرم کا ارتکاب کیا ہے۔

پھر اس نوع کی باتیں سننے میں آرہی ہیں کہ تیرہ ممتاز افسروں کی فہرست ہمارے حوالے کر دی ہے، جن پر مقدمے چلائے جائیں گے۔ کچھ عرصہ بعد ایک اور ایسی فہرست پیش ہوگی کہ ان پر مقدمے چلائے جائیں۔ اس کے علاوہ باقی لوگوں کو قید میں رکھنے کا کیا جواز ہے؟ ... یہ اطلاعات بہت بڑے بیمانے پر زبردست اضطراب اور بے چینی کا سبب بنی ہیں۔ ہم گویا یہ اصول تسلیم کر رہے ہیں کہ وطن کے دفاع میں جان کھپانا بھی ایک سنگین جرم قرار دیا جا سکتا ہے۔ ہمارا ایک ایک سپاہی اور ہمارا ایک ایک افسر ہماری امانت، ہماری غیرت اور ہماری عزت ہے، ہم اپنی عزت کا سودا نہیں کر سکتے۔ ہمیں اپنے اسیروں کی رہائی بہت عزیز ہونی چاہئے۔ ہماری فوج کی اور بہترین فوج اور اعلیٰ دماغ سول افسر بھارت کی قید میں ہیں۔ ان کی شخصیتیں اور صلاحیتیں زنگ آلود ہوتی جا رہی ہیں۔ ہم اندازہ کر سکتے ہیں، ان پر کیا بیت رہی ہوگی۔ وقت چلتی جوں گزرتا جائے گا۔ بھارت نئے نئے فتنے جگا کر ان کی واپسی معرضِ التوا میں ڈالتا جائے گا۔ ہماری قیمتی متاع اور ہمارا بیش قیمت سرمایہ لٹ رہا ہے۔ ہماری قومی غیرت پگھل رہی ہے۔ اور ہم ایک امید موہوم پر سر جھکائے بیٹھے ہیں۔ ساری قوم کو ایک نئے عزم کے ساتھ اعلان کرنا چاہیے کہ اپنے اسیروں کو واپس لئے بغیر ذرا پیچھے نہ ہٹیں گی۔ ذلت کی زندگی پر عزت کی موت کو ترجیح دے گی۔ اس بڑی آزمائش اور اس کٹھن جان کشمکش میں ہر فرد کو قابلِ رشک حصہ لینا چاہیے۔ اس کی مختلف صورتیں حسبِ ذیل ہو سکتی ہیں:-

- ہماری پریس اور سیاسی جماعتیں، جنگی قیدیوں کا مسئلہ صحیح پس منظر میں قوم کے سامنے رکھیں۔ اور اسے باب گم شدہ سمجھ کر فراموش نہ کر دیں۔
- عوام اور خود معاشرتی تنظیمیں منظم کریں اور زخم خوردہ خاندانوں سے براہ راست رابطہ قائم کرکے ان کے دکھ درد میں عملی طور پر شریک ہوں۔
- سردیوں کا موسم آ رہا ہے۔ ہمارے کیمپوں میں ہمارے بھائیوں اور بیٹوں کو گرم کپڑے شاید ہی میسر آسکیں۔ ہمارا فرض ہے کہ گرم کپڑے اور دوسری ضروریاتِ زندگی بڑے پیمانے پر جمع کرکے ریڈ کراس پارسل اور مناسب تنظیم کے ذریعے جلد سے جلد ان تک پہنچائیں۔ ... بہر صورت فلاح و بہبود کا ادارہ بن جائے تبھی اتنا بڑا کام سرانجام پا سکتا ہے، اس کام میں ذرا بھی تاخیر نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔
- پاکستان کی تمام سیاسی جماعتوں کو جنگی قیدیوں کا مسئلہ پارٹی سیاست سے بلند ہو کر خالص انسانی نقطۂ نگاہ سے دیکھنا چاہیے۔ وہ کامل یکجہتی کے ساتھ متفقہ موقف اختیار کریں۔ اور تباہ حال شکستہ رنگ خاندانوں کو اپنی اغراض یا اپنے مقاصد کے لئے استعمال کرنے کا خیال تک دل میں نہ لائیں۔ ہمیں افسوس سے کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ بعض حلقوں نے اس مسئلے کو بھی سیاست کا اکھاڑہ بنانے کی کوشش کی ہے۔
- ہم وہی دل گرفتہ اور روح شکستہ بہنوں اور بھائیوں کو اپنے تعاون کا بھرپور یقین دلاتے ہیں۔ ہمارا غم ان کے غم میں پیچھے ہیں جو خون کے آنسو بہا رہا ہے اور آنکھ میں ان کے دکھ درد کی بات دلی سے ترجمانی کرے گا۔ ہم ان سے بعد ادب عرض کریں گے کہ وہ انتہائی کرب آمیز حالت میں بھی صبر و ضبط کا دامن ہاتھ سے نہ جانے دیں اور دل کے گداز اور روح کے سوز کے ساتھ اس خالق حقیقی سے تعلق قائم کریں۔ جس کے دستِ قدرت میں اسبابِ وصل کے لامحدود وسائل ہیں۔ اور جس کے ذکر سے دل کو لذت اور طمانیت حاصل ہوتی ہے اور جب سارے سہارے ٹوٹ جائیں تو یہی آسرا سہارا زندگی کا نقیب بنتا ہے۔

(اداریہ حقت)

تحریر:- الطاف حسن قریشی

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# میاں طفیل محمد امیر جماعت اسلامی ہو گئے

کراچی ۲۹ اکتوبر (پ پ ا) میاں طفیل محمد آئندہ ۵ سال کیلئے جماعت اسلامی پاکستان کے امیر منتخب کر لئے گئے ہیں۔ واضح رہے کہ اس انتخاب سے قبل مولانا سید ابوالاعلیٰ مودودی نے جماعت کے ارکان سے اپیل کی تھی کہ ان کی خرابی صحت کی بنا پر اس انتخاب میں انہیں رائے نہ دی جائے۔ نتیجہ کا اعلان آج گنتی کے بعد کراچی میں ناظم انتخاب جناب صادق حسین نے کیا۔ میاں طفیل محمد جماعت کے قیام کے وقت سے اس کے جنرل سیکرٹری تھے وہ گذشتہ دو سال سے قائم مقام امیر جماعت کے فرائض انجام دے رہے تھے۔ وہ پہلے مغربی پاکستان صوبے کے امیر تھے۔ بعد میں تنظیمی ڈھانچہ میں تبدیلی کے بعد نائب امیر مقرر کئے گئے۔

# صحافی پاکستان کی تعمیر کو پیش نظر رکھ کر کام کریں

## افطار پارٹی میں سیکرٹری اطلاعات کی تقریر

راولپنڈی ۴ نومبر (اے پ پ) مرکزی وزارت اطلاعات کے سیکرٹری نسیم احمد نے آج شام ایک افطار پارٹی کے موقع پر صحافیوں سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے کہا ہے کہ وہ پاکستان کی تعمیر کے مقصد کو پیش نظر رکھ کر کام کریں۔ افطار پارٹی پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے شعبہ صحافت کے سابق طلباء کی ایسوسی ایشن کی طرف سے دی گئی تھی۔ ایسوسی ایشن کے صدر ... نے وزارت اطلاعات میں نسیم احمد کے بطور سیکرٹری تقرری کا خیر مقدم کیا اور توقع ظاہر کی کہ وہ وزارت اطلاعات میں تازہ ہوا آنے کا موقع دیں گے۔ نسیم احمد نے صحافیوں پر زور دیا کہ وہ تعمیری نقطۂ نظر اختیار کریں گے اور صحت مند صحافت کیلئے کام کریں گے تاکہ ہمارے ملک میں فعال اور زندگی سے بھرپور جمہوریت کو پنپنے کا موقع ملے اور اپنے اندر سے ان لوگوں کو بھی بے نقاب کریں جنہوں نے مختلف طریقوں سے ملک کو مصائب میں پھنسایا اور صحیفہ نگاری کی تشہیر کے سخت خلاف ہیں جو کسی شخصیت کو ابھارنے کیلئے کی جائے۔

# ڈھاکہ یونیورسٹی کے وائس چانسلر پر مقدمہ چلایا جائیگا

ڈھاکہ ۱۰ نومبر (اے پ پ) پولیس نے راجشاہی یونیورسٹی کے سابق وائس چانسلر پر بنگلہ دیش کے خلاف پاکستانی فوج سے تعاون کرنے کا الزام لگایا ہے۔ پولیس نے بتایا ہے کہ وائس چانسلر ڈاکٹر سید سجاد حسین جلد عدالت میں پیش کئے جائیں گے۔ ان الزامات کی سزا سات سال قید اور جرمانہ ہے وائس چانسلر پر ایک الزام یہ ہے کہ انہوں نے لندن ٹائمز کو ایک خط لکھا تھا جس میں بنگلہ دیش میں پاکستانی فوج کی کارروائی کی حمایت کی گئی تھی۔ ڈاکٹر سجاد حسین کو فوجی حکومت نے ڈھاکہ یونیورسٹی کا وائس چانسلر اس وقت مقرر کیا تھا جب ان کے پیش رو جسٹس ابو سعید چودھری نے جناب بنگلہ دیش کے صدر ہیں نے ملک سے وفاداری کا اعلان کیا تھا۔

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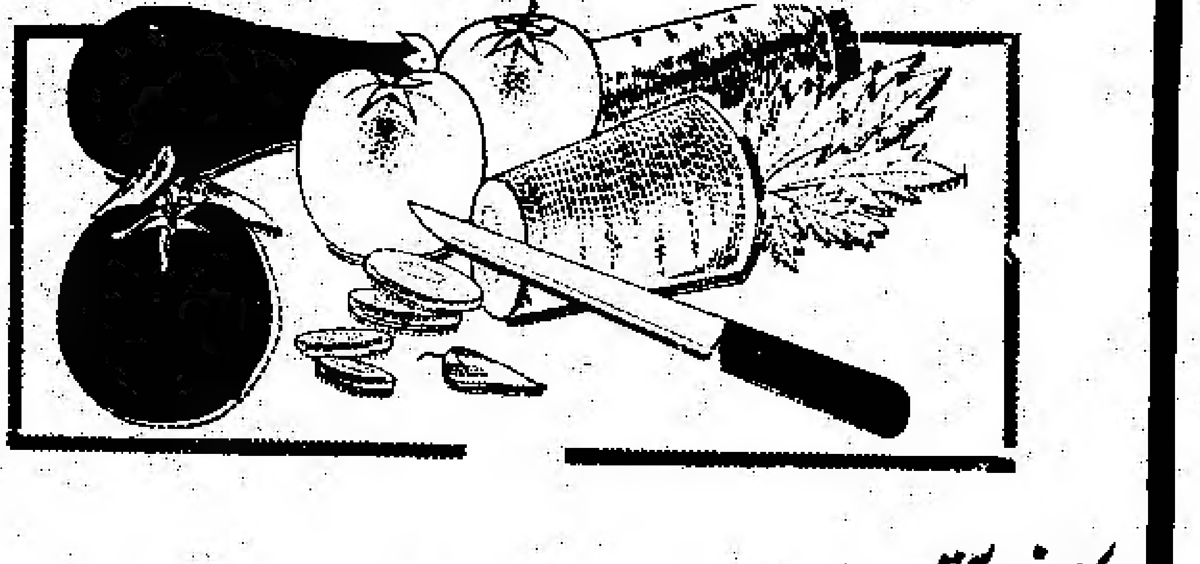
# پاکستان کی تازہ سبزیاں



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# پندرہ روزہ صدائے پاکستان

ٹورونٹو کینیڈا

۱۵ دسمبر ۷۲

جلد نمبر ۱

شمارہ نمبر ۱۶

۱۵ سینٹ


### ٹھاکو چک کے تصفیہ کے بغیر کشمیر میں کنٹرول لائن کا تعین مکمل نہیں ہو سکتا

# پاکستان نے مانک شا کی تجویز مسترد کر دی

## بھارت ٹھاکو چک پر پاکستان کا قبضہ پہلے تسلیم کر چکا ہے مگر عین وقت پر نقشے پر دستخط کرنے سے انکار کر دیا۔ ترجمان کا بیان

## ٹھاکو چک سمیت کنٹرول لائن کے تعین کا کام مکمل کرنے کیلئے فوجی کمانڈر فوراً بات چیت شروع کریں، ٹکا خان کی تجویز

### طے شدہ علاقہ کے بارے میں جھگڑا بھارت نے پیدا کیا

#### پاکستانی کمانڈر تمام نقشوں پر دستخط کیلئے پہلے بھی تیار تھا اب بھی تیار ہے

### میجر جنرل جمالدار مرکزی وزیر مملکت ہو گئے

### بنگلہ دیش کا مسئلہ بھارت نے حل کیا، اندرا کا اعتراف

### بھارتی ہٹ دھرمی کے سبب لاکھوں بے گھر افراد کا مستقبل غیر یقینی

### پاکستان بنگلہ دیش کو کسی پیشگی شرط کے بغیر تسلیم کرے؛ ولی خان کا انٹرویو

### بھاشانی مجیب کے لئے دردِ سر بن گئے

### صدر بھٹو اور بیگم بھٹو نے پورے روزے رکھے

صدر لاڑکانہ میں عید منائیں گے

### کراچی میں ہڑتال سے چھ کروڑ ۹۰ لاکھ کا نقصان

# بھارتی فوج کی فائرنگ سے مزید ۲ پاکستانی جنگی قیدی شہید

## بھارت کی یہ توضیح ناقابلِ یقین ہے کہ بیمار قیدیوں نے بھاگ نکلنے کی کوشش کی تھی، دفتر خارجہ کے ترجمان کا بیان، بھارت سے سخت احتجاج

### ۵۲ پاکستانی فوجیوں کو بنگلہ دیش کی جیلوں میں رکھا گیا تھا

### صنعتی تعلقات کے کمیشن کا قیام


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